

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959

FN17 Ngonde FN17

Nyakyusa

Kinga FN12

K
N
102
103
133
487
131
101



Map 1. Country north of Lake Nyasa

[p. viii]

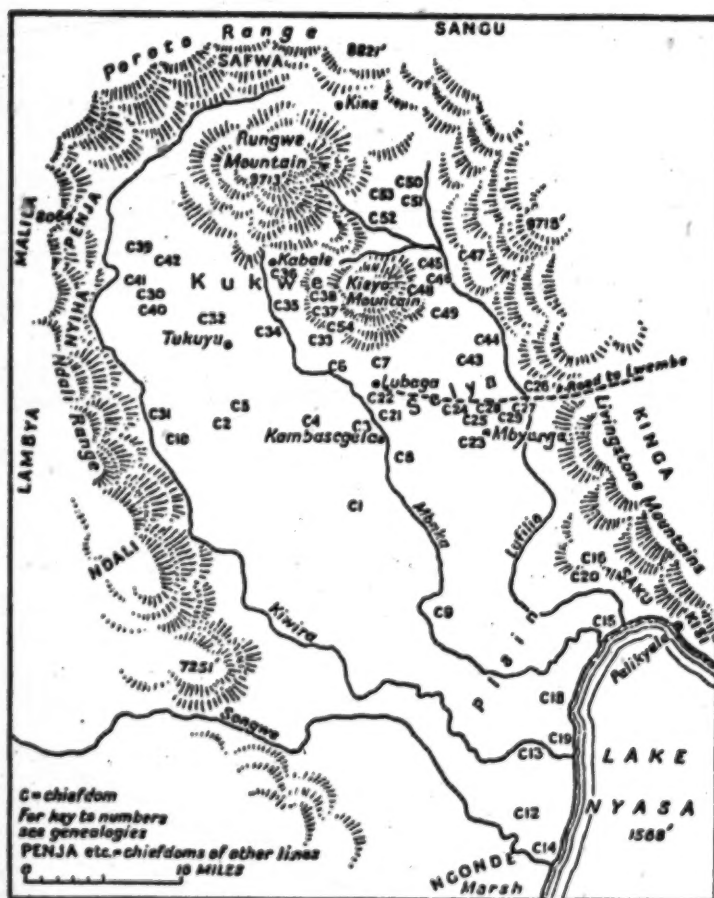
NOTE

643 Chiefdoms do not have names which continue indefinitely. They
103 are referred to by the name of the ruling chief or one of his
illustrious ancestors, and often several different names are in
common use for one chiefdom. To simplify the map we have
assigned a number to each chiefdom held by a segment of the
Nyakyusa or Kukwe lineages (*vide* genealogies, pp. 3, 27), and
these numbers are plotted on the map. The map is based on that
of Mr. R. de Z. Hall (sometime D.C., Tukuyu) and includes
all, or almost all, the Nyakyusa and Kukwe chiefdoms recognized
by the Administration.¹ The Penja, Nyiha, Ndali, Lambya,
and Saku chiefdoms on the fringes of the valley are indicated, but
not plotted. The map does *not* include all chiefdoms recognized in
some fashion by the Nyakyusa themselves, e.g. Mwabungulu
(178) 'came out' in 1953 and has been established at some distance
from his elder brother with his own senior headman, but he is
not recognized by the Administration as a chief and therefore his
domain is not included on the map as a separate chiefdom.

[177] ¹ Two names listed by Mr. Hall are omitted, Ali Bin Omari because he is an
immigrant and Mwakalinga of Kimbila because he is the son of a commoner ap-
pointed as headman by the German Administration, and not a member of either
royal lineage.

FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

87



Map II. Nyakyusa valley showing location of chiefdoms

102
643
103
133

CHAPTER VI

LAND AND POWER

643 THE crux of the chiefs' 'coming out' was a redistribution of power
 561 and of land, and we must pause in our description of the ritual
 423 cycle to discuss the relation between chiefdoms and villages and
 the land, and to consider more closely the balance of power
 between successive generations.

(a) THE TERRITORIAL ALIGNMENT OF
 CHIEFDOMS AND VILLAGES

173 Tradition makes it clear that the heroes came to a sparsely
 361 occupied country and that their descendants gradually spread
 out as their numbers increased. The settlers chose to live on
 hillocks overlooking the surrounding country. Lubaga and
 [103] Mbande, the seats of the two 'divine kings' are commanding sites.
 [778] The grove of Kabale, where the ancestors of the Kukwe chiefs
 first established themselves, is on an eminence rising from the
 plateau, and Kambasekela (near the Mbaka bridge) on which the
 early chiefs Mwaipaja (21) and Mwaipopo (26) were buried is a
 hill very like Mbande, overlooking the plain.

361 Unlike most of their neighbours the Nyakyusa show a preference
 [824] for cleared and cultivated land, planted with bamboos and the
 oil-bearing *unsyunguti* trees (*Trichillia supp.*)¹ as well as the great
umwali (*Chorophora excelsa*) which, in their view, adds dignity to
 the homestead.² A study of the trees planted at the 'coming out'
 and the sacred groves in Mwaipopo's chiefdom (C 24)³ shows that
 for four generations the ruling chiefs (descendants of Mwaijonga
 82) have established their principal villages within a quarter of a
 mile of one another, and for seven generations the descendants of
 Mwakisambwe (30) have lived within two or three miles of one
 another (*vide* plan, p. 101), though there were acres of fertile land

¹ I am indebted to Mr. P. B. Nightingale, Forestry Officer, Tukuyu, for giving me the botanical names of these and other trees.

² cf. Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, pp. 77-8.

³ C followed by a number is the reference number of a chiefdom as listed in the genealogies of chiefs.

9: Wilson

643

622

● 103

631

551

FN17 Ngonde

Nyakyusa

Chart showing position of sections of chart on "Villages of
Mwaipopo' Chiefdom." (Facing page 91)

A	B
C	D

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959

FN17 Ngonde FN17

Nyakyusa

VILLAGES OF MWAIPOPO'S CH

Gen.	Chief	Village	Headman	Structural Position	Land
643 622 103 631 551	I Mwaijonga (82)	IPINDA	NJOBAKOSA	Senior village of Mwaijonga	
		Itiki	Kisogota		
		ITEBE	NGUL'LO	Second senior village of Mwaijonga	Moved for Ipx
		Bukeba			
		Itumba			
II	Mwaijonga I (115)	BUJEJE	MWANSAMBE (Mwegama)	Sons of Ipinda and Itiki	Moved for Lu
	Mwaijonga II (116)				
		Bujinga	Katolile		Moved for Ipx
		Lupaso		Older section of Bujinga	Moved at com Mwankuga II,
		Kisyela			
		Busirkali		Contemporaries of Mwaijonga II	
		Bulindanajo	Mwasota	Much younger men than those of Bujeje	
		Kibonde	Mwakika'o		
		LUPONDO	MWAIKOFU	Sons of Bukeba	
		Kyemo	Karyela		
		Kitule	Mwangoba		
		Kabula	Mwakimungu		
III	Mwankuga I (150)	IGEMBE	MWAMBUPUTA (Mwafungo) b. c. 1880 active in 1955	Sons of Bujeje	
	Mwankuga II (151) active 1955				
		Katumba		Younger brothers and a few sons of Igembe	
		Lugombo	Nusa (active 1955)		Moved for I members gon
		Ipoma	Kabolile	Sons of Bujinga and Busirkali. Younger men than in Igembe	Got land from
		Ndongoti		Younger brothers of Ipoma	Moved south
		Kibonde (junior section)	Mwakika	Sons of Kibonde	
		NJESI	KAKUJU (old & fragile 1955)	Sons of Lupondo	
		Mpunga	Mwakatika	Younger sons of Lupondo	
		Isaba	Mwakabumbi	Youngest sons of Lupondo	
		Lukwego	Lyambelo	Sons of Kitule	
		Ndobo	Nyambeye	Sons of Kabula	
		Kiloi	Katelule	New village	Colony in for
		Kiloba	Nusa (of Lugombo)	New village	Colony in for

[facing p. 91; section A]

643 OF MWAIPOPO'S CHIEFDOM¹

	Land	Numbers (Men or boys) 1955	Comments
622			Widows of Mwaipopo live here
103			Not surviving
631			Not surviving
551	Ipoma Moved for Ipoma	6	Not surviving
			Not surviving
	Moved for Lupando	8 (31 wives)	
	Moved for Ipoma		
	Moved at coming out of Mwankuga II, but not again		
II		7 (22 wives)	First built where Itiki is now. Driven out by Bujega
as of			Chieftom of Mwakipesile
		9	Disappeared by 1955
			Chieftom of Mwakabule
		8 (30 wives)	Mwambuputa now senior priest of country. 'Brought out' Mwanyihu.
as of		10	Junior members including Kilasile moved to Lupando. 57 members in 1938.
	Moved for Lupando. Many members gone to forest.		Nausa now headman of Kiloba, new village in forest.
	Got land from Bujinga		Akimu, son of Mwaipopo II, a former member, moved to forest.
	Moved southward		Sub-chief Likosyela
		12 (26 wives)	
		8	
			Mwakibweli sub-chief
	Colony in forest	48	Akimu, a junior son of Mwaipopo II, was sent to watch over this colony. In 1953 Mwabungulu was established as sub-chief of the area.
	Colony in forest	156	Possibly subdivided

[Facing p. 91; section B]

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959

FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

643
622
103
631
551

	Kibonde (junior section)	Mwakileka	Sons of Kibonde		
	NJESI	KAKUJU (old & fragile 1955)	Sons of Lupondo		
	Mpunga	Mwakatika	Younger sons of Lupondo		
	Isuba	Mwakabumbe	Youngest sons of Lupondo		
	Lukwego	Lyambelo	Sons of Kitule		
	Ndobo	Nyambege	Sons of Kabula		
	Kilosi	Katelule	New village	Colony in fore	
	Kiloba	Nsusa (of Lugombo)	New village	Colony in fore	
IV	Mwanyilu (177)	Lupando	KILASILE MWANSASU	Sons of Igembe Married	Occupies site by parts of I and Lugombo 'out' of Mwan some member and some son make room for members of Ig the headman and Lugombo
	Naanga	KILASILE MWANSASU	Section of Lupando. Younger sons of Igembe and Lugombo. Married.		
	Itiki	KILASILE MWANSASU	Sons of Igembe and Lugombo some married, some c. 14		
	Ndola	KILASILE MWANSASU	Sons of Igembe and Lugombo. Some married. 12 boys.		
	Bujisi	Pauliki Mwambepo	Sons of Ipoma. Mostly married.		Occupies the Itebe of gens split and has to the north then by Ipo moved some c at 'coming ou Busirkali II have also mov
	Ponjola	Balyemo Mwakasumbula	Sons of Kilbende III		
	IRINGA	SIKAMBOMBO KIGULEWE	Sons of Njai. Some married.		Occupies land pied by Njai
	Masoko	SIKAMBOMBO KIGULEWE	Sons of Mpunga and Njai		
	Katela	SIKAMBOMBO KIGULEWE	Sons of Masoko and Mpunga. Younger brothers of Iringa. Ages 15-20 years.		
	Mfumbi	Batungulu Mwamunilu	Sons of Isuba		
	Ponjola	Batungulu Mwamunilu	Sons of Isuba. Younger brothers of Mfumbi. Ages c. 12-15 yrs.		
	Kituli		Sons of Lukwego		
	Kabula		Sons of Ndobo		
	Nluju	Mwanjotile	New village		Colony in fore

¹ A more elaborate version of this table appeared in *Good Company*. Certain misspellings and errors
Capitals—senior village of senior headman of chiefdom.
Italics—dead.

Total No. of taxpayers (including migrant labourers) 1955: 857.

[Facing p. 91; section C]

FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

Sub-chief Likoyela

643
622
● 103
631
55112
(26 wives)

8

Mwakibweli sub-chief

Colony in forest

48

Akimu, a junior son of Mwaipopo II, was sent to watch over this colony. In 1953 Mwabungulu was established as sub-chief of the area. Possibly subdivided

Colony in forest

136

Occupies site previously held by parts of Bujege, Igembe, and Lugombo. At 'coming out' of Mwanyilu Bujege split, some members moving north, and some south, some west, to make room for Lupando. Some members of Igembe, including the headman, moved south, and Lugombo moved west.

20
(including
Nsanga)

Kilasile first built in Katumba. Father was in Igembe. Born c. 1912. Made fire at Mwanyilu's 'coming out'. This village has a new name. It was originally called Mpuguso.

sons
ried.

These Mwanyilu's mates. He first built here.

some

11

Christian village near school. Mwabungulu (178) first built here but moved to forest. Mwakagile (59) had occupied this site, then Mwaajonga built Itiki I on it.

25

3 men of Bujege who had to move to make room for Lupando have built at one end of Ndola but this is irregular.

d. Occupies the site first held by Itebe of generation I which split and has two tiny sections to the north and south, and then by Ipoma III which moved some distance to south at 'coming out' of Mwanyilu. Busirkali II and Bujinga II have also moved southward.

F. of Pauliki in Busirkali. Bujai also called Ipoma. New name has scarcely been established.

No son of Likoyela 'came out' with Mwanyilu.

Occupies land formerly occupied by Njai

29
(14 wives)

17 men away at work, 12 present. Sikambombo made fire at Mwanyilu's 'coming out'. His father was in Njai.

10

23

Also called Isuba

ers of

Names of villages of generation IV not ascertained.

Names of villages of generation IV not ascertained.

Colony in forest

136

New village established for second heir Mwabungulu, who is a sub-chief. Possibly subdivided.

misspellings and errors have been corrected and the villages established in generation IV added.

[facing p. 91; section D]

NOTE

621 It should be realized that (i) the names of the two senior villages of a
 631 generation are well known and clear cut, but those of subordinate
 561 villages are more fluid. Furthermore a village often has subdivisions,
 distinguished by its members by name, but known to outsiders only by
 [103] the general village name. (ii) A village may acquire a new name at the
 [796] 'coming out'; the senior village of Mwanyilu's generation used to be
 called 'Mpuguso' but 'came out' as 'Lupando'. (iii) Some villages die
 out altogether, e.g. Kyemo II. (iv) Some villages straddle generations.
 Katela in 1955 is in the same sort of position as Katumba in 1935. It
 includes eight sons of Mpunga who belong to generation III, but also
 fourteen sons of men of Masoko who 'came out' with Mwanyilu. In
 the case of Katumba the members who were sons of men of generation
 III moved to younger villages and 'came out' with Mwanyilu, among
 them being his senior headman Kilasile, a man of over forty. But
 Kilasile's contemporaries who were sons of men of generation II could
 not 'come out' with Mwanyilu, at least not as a group—and the
 members of Katumba attended the 'coming out' as 'fathers'. Boys
 join a village of contemporaries but may move later to a village of
 younger men who are of their own structural generation.

At the 'coming out' of Mwanyilu and Mwabungulu five village
 headmen were 'caught' and secluded with their chiefs. They repre-
 sented five clear-cut villages. Kilasile and Sikambombo, Mwanyilu's
 two senior headmen who made fire are leaders of Lupando and Iringa
 respectively; Pauliki and Batungulu their juniors are leaders of
 [622] Bujisi (or Ipoma) and Mfumbi (or Isuba), and Mwanjotile the single
 headman of the junior heir, Mwabungulu, has his own village of
 Nkuyu established on newly settled land in the forest. The young men
 of Kibonde were included under Kilasile's authority, and those of
 Kituli and Kabula under Sikambombo's. The names Lupando and
 Iringa are well known as those of sections of Mwanyilu's chiefdom, but
 the names Bujisi and Mfumbi are not: the young men of these villages
 still use the names of their fathers' villages, Ipoma and Isuba, though
 there is a clear territorial separation between fathers and sons. Taxes
 [651] are collected under the names of Igembe, Ipoma, Kibonde, Njisi,
 Isuba, Kituli, and the three forest villages, Kilosi, Kiloba, and Nkuyu.

[p. 101 is blank]